1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The rainfall ranges from twenty-two to twenty-seven inches, in normal years, and is heavier as one moves from north to south. The important point that must be kept sight of is the fact that ninety percent of the rain falls in June, July, August, and September, while the months from October through June are almost totally dry. Indeed even within the four-month rainy season, about eighteen inches of the annual rainfall comes during July and August, so that in exceptionally dry years, June and September can easily turn out to be rainless months.

The various seasons are tied closely to the basic facts of rainfall and latitude. As the rain begins in June the dry sandy soil suddenly comes to life with large stretches of new grass and new leaves on the died-up thorn bushes. From atop one of the Bornu ridges, or from the roof of a house, the entire landscape, as far as the eye can see, starts to change color from yellow-brown to a soft green. The weather cools delightfully, the rains become more frequent, and the short daily storms freshen the air. The people call this period "the rain," and consider it by far the most pleasant time of the year, even though there is extra work for everybody because this is the planting and hoeing season, and there is as well the extra unpleasantness of increased numbers and endless varieties of insects that thrive at this time. After the rains in the months of October and November, and often into mid-December the proximity to the equator produces a short, hot season with clear, still days. In a sense this is autumn. The green of summer fades and the bushland changes to light browns, yellows and grays, except for the ripening millet in the fields, and the evergreen Nim tree. Towards the end of this season the weather cools, and a daily wind from the north to northeast blows in from the Sahara. This is the famous Harmattan that even coats shoreward sides of ships with red dust 100 miles off the coast of West Africa. It starts up about eight o'clock in the morning, to wane by about four in the afternoon, making for relatively cool, still mornings and evenings, with rather harsh, sandy winds, for most of the day, so that one wants to cover face and eyes when riding on horseback, especially into the wind. The people have a special word for this time of year which translates as "winter" but which also means "harvest," since the main crops—millet, guinea corn, and ground-nuts—are harvested towards the end of autumn and beginning of winter. By the end of February or beginning of March the coolness of winter has gone. The Harmattan wind still blows but it gets hotter every day and the nights, although windless and a trifle cooler than the days, begin to approach the daytime temperature. Indeed it is not uncommon for the temperature to remain about 100° F for several weeks on end, so that when a break finally comes, ninety degrees seems like an exuberantly pleasant relief. This is the hot season, called "the heat" locally, and considered by all to be the most unpleasant time of year, which gives even greater sweetness to the cooling rains when they finally arrive in June.

There are, then, in all, four seasons: the rains from June to September; a short, hot season in October and November; a cooler, windy winter from December to February; and a sharply hot dry period from March to June. Another way of looking at the seasons, also used by the people, and one which will be utilized to some extent in this book, is to simply speak of a dry season, from September to June, and a wet season from mid-June to mid-September. Obviously the contrast between the various seasons of the dry months is not nearly so great as between the rainy months and the rest of the year.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

mans and ruled it after World War I as a League of Nations Trust Territory, (later a U.N. Trust Territory) which meant in practice that it was part of the administrative responsibility of the colonial officials in Northern Nigeria. To appreciate more clearly what changes were brought about by colonialism, however, it is necessary to understand something of the social, economic, and in particular the political structure of Bornu, as it developed during pre-colonial times, and it is to this task that the remainder of the chapter is devoted.

Kanem-Bornu: The Social and Political Background

Only the sketchiest oddments of information are available about the nature of Kanem society. One Arabic record speaks of its capital as a city of tents, and traditions tell of a "Council of Nobles" that had a great deal of power over decision-making by the king, or Mai as he was called. From this and a few other data, such as the emphasis placed on the clan membership of persons mentioned in the early periods of the dynastic lists, we can attempt a reconstruction that fits the facts. The early kingdom seems to have been made up of patrilineal, named clans under senior or noble lineages (also named) whose heads formed the so-called "Council of Nobles" under the king or Mai. The Mai himself was head of the senior lineage of a senior clan considered to be the most important or powerful in the region. In all probability the term "Mai" or "king" was used for all leaders of clans just as it is today among some of the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples of the Sahara to the north of Lake Chad who are closely related to the Kanuri. It also appears that the great Kanuri king lists are just what local people say they are—lists of the leaders of the Magumi Sefuwa or Sefuwa lineage heads of the Magumi clan. People in the clan considered themselves related by ties of descent to a common ancestor; but they could not describe the exact link with him, while they could describe the genealogical ties through men that made them all Sefuwa. Very probably these people utilized both cattle and domesticated plants although their early city of tents, referred to by Arabic historians, also suggests a greater emphasis on nomadism and the use of cattle. This is consistent with the clan organization described above; indeed this form of organization is widespread among nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples in the Sahara, North Africa, the Horn of Africa, and Arabia. Later, as attested by the ruins at Garamoulé northwest of Lake Chad they probably built more permanent settlements and very likely used slaves from the south of Lake Chad as trade goods and as agricultural laborers.

How centralized and developed the early stages of the Kanem state really were is an intriguing and difficult question and one that can be solved only by extensive historical and archaeological research. Certainly concepts of statecraft from Islamic areas to the north of the desert and trips by Kanem monarchs to Mecca would have acquainted the rulers with the ideas of very highly centralized states. How much this actually affected Bornu is unknown, although it is possible that tensions over the power of the central monarch were another reason for the civil strife which led eventually to the migration of the Sefuwa from Kanem to Bornu.

After the Sefuwa set up their kingdom in Bornu the state became a much more highly organized and centrally controlled political system. The people who

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Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as in the case of food, he is always pressured to obtain and distribute more than he can afford. At harvest time, or major religious ceremonies during the year, and at celebrations of *rites de passage* by household members, new clothing is in order and is expected by everyone. Clients and subordinates in nearby households expect gifts of clothing as well. Wealthy men may find it necessary to purchase several hundred men's robes a year just to satisfy their many dependents; on the other hand, a normal peasant householder can usually get by annually with under a half a dozen for male household members including himself and a similar number of women's robes for his wives.

Household heads must also organize and pay for repairs to compound walls and sleeping huts, fuel and equipment for cooking fires, and kerosene for the lamps. They must supply as well the ladies of the household with money for their fortnightly hair styling, perfumes, pomade for rubbing on their skin, and kola nuts. When someone is sick, they must consult the religious practitioner and the native doctor who diagnose the case, start the necessary prayers, and sell charms to effect a cure. Besides all this they must enter into community life, go to the weddings, naming ceremonies of friends, and have these friends come to their own ceremonies. Each time they attend affairs they and their household members must give gifts to those responsible for the ceremony. The more a man gives and the more often he goes to such ceremonies, the more successful and wealthy and contact-laden he is reputed to be. Most people are prudent and do not go beyond their means. Indeed the Kanuri term for "spendthrift" translates literally as "one who goes to many ceremonies."

Consumption at the household level is organized by the household head and carried out under his guidance and control. He is constantly purchasing more so he can distribute it more generously to more people; yet for the ordinary household the bulk of the expenditure, roughly sixty percent of the household's earning power, is for food, and the next largest item is clothing, at about fifteen percent. This leaves approximately twenty-five percent of the household earning capacity to take care of everything in cash and kind beyond the simple necessities of food and clothing.[2]

Households as Producers

Kanuri production is tied traditionally to two interrelated factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are, first, the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly, the way in which agricultural and nonagricultural pursuits complement one another in the economy. The Bornu area has a short rainy season from June to September and crop production is carried out during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains, and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing is carried on from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month to a month and a half. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying

[2] These data and much of the other material for this chapter were obtained (a) from detailed budget studies in a small sample of twenty-two rural households, and (b) from a less detailed survey of seventy-five rural households in three villages in the Magumeri area.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

Although almost all Kanuri households obtain some food and some cash from their farm plots, the amount of farming varies from person to person, from village to village, and even for the same person from season to season. In the city, many people have dropped farming and manage to earn enough cash income to furnish their needs from the market. In the villages some households, usually in areas of good soil and water supply, produce agricultural surpluses, while in other areas the farm work provides only part of the household needs. Again some farmers tend to produce fairly similar amounts of grain crops per year while others fluctuate, so that they produce practically nothing some years and large bounties a few years later. Increased prices of ground-nuts and guinea corn stimulate greater household farming activities while trade and other nonfarming activities may interfere with a man's farming. Sickness in the compound as well as blight and soil depletion tend to decrease agricultural proceeds, and finally in the rural areas increase or decrease in household size, especially in the number of wives, all tend to affect the fluctuation of crop proceeds from one household to another or within the same household over time. People who report themselves to be primarily farmers produce more than those who report themselves to be craftsmen, although for the Magumeri area the difference, when measured, does not seem to be very great. On the other hand, traders and political and religious specialists seem to produce approximately one quarter to one third as much on their farms as other people, and many in this category do not farm at all.

The importance of wives has already been noted. The number of wives available to any cultivator, as well as the number of his male subordinates in the household, is the major factor affecting crop production. The high divorce rate makes this primary source of labor somewhat unpredictable for each farmer. On the other hand it also helps to stabilize marriage. Thus the more men depend upon help from their wives the less likely they are to divorce them, although their efforts in this direction are never completely successful and the insecurity of farm help is always there. The insecurity can be alleviated by using sons or clients or laborers, all of whom require payment in some way for their help. All rural Kanuri at times help their neighbors, their relatives, or friends to farm and often a group of such men get together to help one another in a cooperative work gang and then reciprocate by helping each other in turn. Thus although many Kanuri do move around in Bornu, farming favors the most stable who can build up social relations in one place that can be utilized in the form of labor to offset the possible insecurity caused by the ever-present high divorce rate.

To make the situation more complicated many Kanuri are not rooted in the land emotionally. It is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri conception of getting ahead in the world that personal advancement is not to be found in farming. Achievement in Bornu is seen as stemming out of profitable social relationships and more recently western schooling. If it is judged to be personally profitable for an individual to leave his farm work in order to become someone's client, there is little hesitation. Men asked me to take them on as clients and give them some money for trading purposes. They offered to travel anywhere in Bornu

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

been told of many political leaders who rubber stamp decisions about land transfer, simply registering the fact and witnessing its legality. In some cases, however, there is interference, and it is generally discovered when this happens that there have been some previous difficulties in the owner's relationship to the political leader.

Farm plots are generally used for periods of four to eight years. Then they are allowed to lie fallow for about the same length of time. Everyone in the community knows a fallow field and its owner, and there would be trouble if someone tried to use one of these without the owner's permission. If fallow land is unused because the owner has moved away or has given up farming, then the land reverts to the common disposal of the community as a whole. The political leader can then allot these lands to newcomers or other community members, although he would generally be careful to check claims on them by previous owners and their relatives before doing this.

In summary, from the point of view of the people themselves, there are four different kinds of land around a Kanuri village. First, there is land owned outright by the household head over which he has complete authority. Secondly, there is land that has been cleared by a household head or that he was given the right to use by his local leader and which may become totally his or that of his heirs after long years of use and/or inheritance. Thirdly there is resting land, which is a farm plot that has been in use but whose depleted soil the owner will likely use again. If he moves away without trying to dispense with any of these plots then they revert to free land. Finally, there is free unused land around the settlement that can be used for newcomers or those trying to expand their holdings. As far as ownership is concerned, about sixty percent of all land in Magumeri was obtained through inheritance. The remaining forty percent was almost all new land cleared outside the present circumference of farm plots in which the plots had been registered with the village head whose permission had been granted. The important thing to remember about this system is that it works. Litigation over land in Magumeri had to do mostly with what we call "trespassing." People were brought to the courts because they (usually their livestock) had infringed on someone's right to land. There was very little difficulty in general over transfers. People knew what rights were held and how they could transfer these rights to others.

Except for the few farmers who produce either specialized crops like yams or tobacco and then market them, most Kanuri have a dry season occupation such as craftwork, trade, or a service occupation such as native doctoring or barbering. These they view as an occupation, while farming, unless it is the only specialty carried out, is viewed as an important side line. As we have seen in the chapter on the life cycle, recruitment into an occupation is carried on by an apprenticeship system within the household organization. This is even the case for some western types of occupation such as truck driving, and it only recedes in importance when western type schooling is involved.

Traditionally, occupations in Bornu have been organized under head men in each settlement and under an overall head man for the entire occupation who lived in the capital city. Today the traditional occupations such as blacksmith, leather worker, butcher, and so on still have such an organization, although the privileges and duties of a head man are very few and do not extend beyond his local settlement. Nevertheless, men in Magumeri who are butchers, blacksmiths or dyers, and

their families were not butchers in times past but conditions have forced them to "take up the knife." The craft requires anatomical knowledge of animals and a skilled use of the knife to cut and clean them. Besides this it necessitates continuous relations with cattle owners, many of whom are Shuwa and Fulani nomads who wander through the area.

Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child aged three, and two *tada njima* who are his apprentices. There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for Mala Bukar, one for the two apprentices, and one for meat storage. The apprentices are both unrelated to Mala Bukar by kinship, but both are the sons of butchers who are well known to him. The young boys explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down as butchers in their home villages. They treated Mala Bukar as they would their own father giving him all the subordination and respect due to a compound head. Mala Bukar's immediate neighbors, one to the north of him and one just to the east of him, are his younger brothers. One sells hides and skins, the other is a butcher and works closely with him although they generally butcher separately. They do, however, buy from nomads together, and often the younger brother looks after Mala Bukar's stall in the various markets they journey to together. The three brothers inherited their "house-farms" from their father. Mala Bukar—as the older brother who took over his father's household—took half while the other half was divided between the two younger brothers. Since then he has cleared one plot in free land far from town, and his apprentices are busy clearing a new one which Mala Bukar says is being cleared to replace an old one used for the last time several years ago (it is now fallow). The apprentices are also clearing small plots of their own near to the one they are preparing for the butcher and hope to get some extra cash from ground-nuts. Generally Mala Bukar estimates he obtained about ten bags (one ton) of millet and three bags (600 pounds) of ground-nuts.

The farm work itself is done by Mala Bukar's two wives and his apprentices who do not work together because it would be considered shameful for them to have to interact socially for any length of time. Mala Bukar decides on what is to be planted, when, and in what plots. He also decides on hoeing dates, and the time and scheduling of the harvest. The wives do less actual work in the field than many of their rural counterparts because of the apprentices, although they still take or send out cooked food to the boys during the hoeing season. Mala Bukar also gives his wives the hooves of slaughtered animals which they are able to sell for extra spending money.

The work schedule of the household is tied to the supply of Mala Bukar's meat and local demands for it. During the dry season he slaughters mostly sheep and goats while the rainy season which brings the cattle nomads is more heavily the time for beef preparation. He almost always butchers on Saturdays, the day before the village market day, and may do some more on Sunday if selling is brisk at the market. During Sunday he hears about conditions in the villages close by that have markets on Monday and Tuesday. If demand there seems promising, or if he has unsold stock, he attends the Monday and Tuesday markets as well.

Even with the apprentices, however, his turnover is not excessive. In the dry season he kills about four goats and/or sheep per week, and once in a while, usu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ally about once a month, a beef-cow or bull. During the wet season he kills about one or two beef cattle a week. He sells the meat by strips and a very rough estimate of his income from the meat and the sale of the skin comes to approximately $450 per year. Most of the townspeople of Magumeri think of Mala Bukar as one of the wealthiest of the village's permanent residents, leaving aside the salaried officials sent out from the city who have been posted to Magumeri. However, both as we observed it, and as Mala Bukar claimed repeatedly, people begged meat from him continually for which he never received any money. In four weeks of almost continous observation I estimated he lost about ten percent of his meat this way, although he claimed it was often much higher, ranging up to forty percent on occasion. Everyone agrees that that is the price of wealth, for the Kanuri believe that the proper use of wealth is its distribution to one's dependents and to the community at large in order that one may achieve fully the acclaim and prestige that wealth confers. If Mala Bukar hoarded his earnings to buy more animals and obtain more apprentices and thus increase his productivity, people would see him as a foolish man who was using his wealth unproductively. Kanuri wealth should be used to enhance and maintain status, and status is achieved through supporting and creating subordinates by giving away wealth.

Distribution

Kanuri households do not produce everything they consume and thus of necessity must obtain what they need from other sources in the community. Wives are given market money weekly by their husbands to purchase ingredients for gruel as well as for their own needs. The household head, on his part, must purchase grain when his own supplies are short as well as clothing and supplies such as tools or firewood for the entire compound. Things made, produced, or purchased for trade by the household members must be sold or exchanged in order to obtain necessities not produced within the compound. This is the basic quality in Bornu out of which stems an elaborate and complicated system of trade that provides for the distribution of goods and services to those who need them, when they need them, in quantities they can afford.

Almost all households in rural Bornu, and many in the city as well, have two main marketing tasks. First the cash crop, most often ground-nuts, must be sold, and secondly the specialized production or services provided by the household must be made available to the community. Let us go over each of these briefly and then move into the market cycle itself to see how the system operates as a whole.

During the harvest season from November to January men from the city appear at every major market village in Bornu. They bring scales with them and set up temporary huts close to the nearest motor road. When a household head harvests the crop, he takes it to these "scale men" and sells it by the bag. Government inspectors are on hand to check the scales daily and the quality of the nuts as well. The scale men generally bring cloth and other import items with them so that when a householder gets his cash he can spend some of it immediately thus giving the buyer a little extra profit. For the householder this may be the largest single payment

425 practice is undergoing change. House plots in desirable loca-
241 tions in Maiduguri, the capital city, are bought and sold,
178 though in theory land for one's house is obtained in the same manner as farm land--by asking the village head for a site to build one's house.

2. Subsistence Economy and Cash Crops.

243 Millet is the staple crop of the Kanuri, and both sorghum (Sorghum vulgare) and pearl millet (Pennisetum spicatum) are
243 grown. Planting takes place immediately after the first rains
221 in May and the grain is harvested in September. The growing season is short as rain falls only in the months between May and September and not at all for the remainder of the year. Consequently there is only one crop during the year. Since millet grows without much attention, agricultural labor is
[462] needed only during planting, weeding, and harvesting. Men and women work together in the fields during these periods. Crops must be sown shortly after the onset of the rains for the growing time is relatively short and any delay in planting might reduce the exposure to rainfall which is necessary for a good harvest. Late planting in a year in which the total rainfall
[73] is slight can be disastrous for a family. Really bad years can mean famine, and though there has not been a major famine since World War I, that famine is remembered as a catastrophe. Older people calculate their age in relation to the year of the famine. In the villages millet which a family harvests in Septem-

243 ber is expected to last them for an entire year, and the months
221 of April, May and June are generally the hungry months, when the millet supplies begin to diminish.

244 Additional crops of some importance are varieties of beans,
243 okra, rice, melons, squash, tomatoes, cucumbers and onions.
312 These are frequently grown as garden crops, near places where there is a permanent water supply. They can then be watered by hand, or through the use of shadoofs to raise water from rivers to the higher banks.

244 Groundnuts are the primary cash crop of Northern Nigeria, and the Kanuri plant large quantities. Almost all Kanuri families, even those in the larger towns plant a crop of millet; in the villages, almost all plant a second crop of groundnuts
[442] as well. These are bought by agents of the larger trading com-
[439] panies for cash, and eventually are sold to the Nigerian Groundnut Marketing Board through which they are released onto the
433 world market. Millet is the basic subsistence crop of the Ka-
[434] nuri, while groundnuts [illegible] the primary source of cash for the Kanuri villager.

433 The Kanuri do not rely exclusively on agriculture. They
233 keep sheep and goats in their villages, which young boys take out beyond the fields to graze in the mornings, returning in the evening. Cows are kept, and fed by the same means, but
433 these are few in numbers. Certain Kanuri sub-groups, the Kwoyam
233 and the Buduwai, depend largely on cattle which they keep in
563

463 be an element of traditional Kanuri culture. Most of these
467 specialists, craftsmen and tradesmen, are involved with the
441 market, an old Kanuri institution, but others are, and always
177 have been engaged in carrying on their trade outside of the
178 market. New types of craftsmen and tradesmen who are engaged in new sorts of activities which have been introduced into Kanuri culture as a result of contact with the Western world tend not to be organized compared to the older and more traditional groups in Kanuri society.

4. Local trade, and the market-place.

44 An attempt was made to tally the number of sellers on a
438 Geidam market day. Normally, the market is swarming with people at the height of market activity. This is particularly true in the dry season, in the months following the harvest.
[221] During October and November, when the harvest has been gathered
[491] and people can afford to buy things, and the roads are once again passable, the Geidam market reaches enormous proportions. The tally, however, was made over two market days in late August and early September. This is in the latter part of the rainy season, and the market is much smaller because of the difficulties in traveling at that time of the year, but it made it much easier to count the number of sellers present at one time. There were 1,477 sellers present in the market. People buying and the many others merely sitting around chatting or observing the scene were not included in the tally. There were prob-

As a man and woman grow older they demand and are given progressively more independence of choice in all matters including marriage. This is more likely among the peasants. For here second marriages are not as likely to be used as mechanisms for creating, strengthening and maintaining relationship by the girl's luwali to whom it is traditional to return on the occasion of divorce. It is more likely that the upper class woman will come under the power and authority of her luwali in subsequent marriages than the lower class person who is left freer to make her own liaisons. The upper class woman although not in purda during her divorced status must be much more delicate and restrained about her movements. This necessity to maintain an appearance of probity lends itself more easily to the manipulation of the upper class woman by her luwali after her first one or two divorces than does the relative freedom of the lower class woman. Among all classes an extremely young divorcee of under fifteen is almost sure to have little freedom of choice for her second husband, although cases of such early divorce are rare.

582 [561] 587 565 557 [589]

During the harvest season (November to February) divorced women (sower) are more serious about trying to pin down one of the temporary liaisons to marriage. Men at this season are similarly inclined but tend to shop around a little before settling on one choice, unless their minds were made up before the harvest season opened. With a few exceptions (notably female) both sexes consider married status desirable and for a man, having two wives is better than having one. The exceptions to this rule are women who are either very attractive to men and thus enjoy themselves economically and sexually as unmarried women, and/or women who refuse to give up their independence for marriage. These factors are often related and as we shall see there is room for the expression of all of them within marriage. Men marry if their harvest

581 [585] [221] [595] [589]

Production

433
182 Kanuri production is tied to two inter-related factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are first the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly the differentiation of production into agricultural and non-agricultural pursuits.

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[132] The Chad basin has a short rainy season running from June to September and crop production is carried during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing occurs near the end of the rainy season and harvesting is carried out from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months, leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

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433 In Magumeri village area, one-third of the cultivators reported that they did nothing else but farm. Only a few of these have surpluses to sell. The remaining two-thirds of the cultivators are semi-subsistence producers who acquire the remainder of their income from some non-agricultural activity. All cultivators, however, raise some cash crop. The subsistence balance in the area as a whole is maintained by small pockets of intensive surplus producers scattered throughout the entire region. These people are, by family tradition, farmers. They generally have good farm soil, with larger and more numerous holdings per person and their dry season activity consists of marketing

443 the very end of the haggling. Thus it may take only two or three min-
435 utes to narrow a seller down from fifteen shillings to something a-
437 round five; but will it be 5/6d or 4/6d; 4/9d or 5/3d; or 5/- even? -
this last seesaw in pricing may take fifteen or twenty minutes. For although norms of price may be set for market day or longer on any commodity, there is always a small range of a few pennies around the norm which can be called the "real" price. This is not a single price, but really a range within which serious haggling takes place.

435 Finally, it should be noted that price in Bornu vary with
221 the seasons. In general, the harvest period from November to the end of December is a time of plenty, while July and August, the growing season, is a time of shortage. Prices on all commodities, except food, fall during the wet season when incomes are at their lowest and men are taking time off from their dry season activity to tend their fields. They then rise around the harvests when cash crops are sold and money is more plentiful. Thus the Maria Theresa dollar can be bought for 6/9d to 7/- in July, but goes up as high 8/- to 9/- in November after the
[262] harvests. Food is scarce during the wet season, surplus sellers are short (some even stop selling) and prices of bulk (per 200 lbs. bag) rise when other prices are falling. Similarly when other commodities are rising in price after the harvest, food, which is plentiful, falls in value.

The Organization of Trade

443 At the local level in Bornu, trade is handled by retailers. Under this heading come sellers of food items, cooked and uncooked foods, sundries, medicine, charms, medical services, builders, etc. With one

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

242 During 1956-7 the Agricultural Officer of Bornu Province
197 was a Kanuri who had studied tropical agriculture in Egypt, Iraq, Israel, and India. He was very enthusiastic about the introduction of citrus crops into the area, and spent a large part of his time helping to get this programme under way in the southern part of the province. He was also interested in introducing super-phosphate fertilizer into the agricultural practices of Kanuri cultivators to increase the yield of millet and groundnuts.

241 The average yields for the province using traditional techniques are approximately 600 lbs. of groundnuts (decorticated) and 400 lbs. of millet (threshed) per acre. The yields diminish as one travels north towards the desert, and farm sizes increase in proportion, although farm size is also dependent upon family size, marriage stability, and the socio-economic relations of the cultivator within the community (Cohen, 1959). Research has [242] proven that the use of super-phosphate fertilizer can raise agricultural productivity in Bornu from 25% to 40% above that normally obtained with traditional growing techniques.

Two methods of planting crops are known. The bulk of the farm plots for most cultivators are the *kulo karabe* or far farms.[1] These are located beyond a two hundred yard perimeter (approximately) around the village. Here crops are planted [221] a week or two after the first rains, hoed twice during the wet season, and harvested in the period from November to the end of December. In the *kulo fatobe* or near farms, within a two hundred yard perimeter around the village, and within the household itself, maize and vegetables are planted with compost, mostly from sheep, goats, horses, and burnt ashes. This is placed on the soil during planting, and may be applied again during the growing season. Sometimes the compost is put into the ground along with the seeds.

101 The following course of events was observed in Magumeri,
[162] a comparatively small district capital (population 2000), forty-five miles northwest of Maiduguri, the provincial capital.

[1] Literally this expression means "bush farm," and *kulo fatobe* translated literally would be "house farm." For purposes of descriptive convenience and accuracy, the writer has coined the phrases "near" and "far" farms.